### OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS

ADDRESS OF MR SUMNER.

[ Continued from the Intelligencer of September 23.]

IMPOSSIBILITY OF ANY RECOGNITION OF REBEL SLAVE MONGERS WITH SLAVERY AS A CORNER-STONE. But I do not content myself with a single objection to this outrageous consummation. There is another of a different pature. Assuming, for the moment, what I am I lad to believe can never happen, that the new slave Power has become independent to fact, while the national flag has the contest, there is an objection which in an age of Christian light, thank God! cannot be overcome-unless the great Powers which, by solemn coveands, have branded slavery, shall forget their vowe, while England, the declared protectress of the African race, and France, the declared champion of "ideas," both break away from the irres stible legic of their history and turn the r proks upon the past. Vain is honor; vain is human confidence, if these nations at a moment of high duty can thus ignobly fall. "Renows and grace is dead." Loke the other objection, this is of fact also; for it is founded on the character of the slavemonger prefension claiming re-sugnition, all of which is a fact. Perhaps it may be and that it is a question of policy; but it is of a policy which aught to be beyond question, if the fact be established. Bomething more is necessary than that the new Power shall be de facto independent. It must be de facto fit to be independent, and, from the nature of the case, every

nation will judge of this fitness as a fact. In undertaking

welcome and association in the family of nations. Can

England put forth such a proclamation in favor of the

to acknowledge a new Power, you preclaim its fitness for

whippers of men and sellers of children? Can France permit Louis Napoleon to put forth such a proclamation And here, on the threshold of this iniquity, the true state of the question must not be forgotten. It is not whether old and existing relations shall be continued with a Power which permits slavery, but whether relations shall be begun with a new Power which not merely permits slavery, but builds its whole intolerable pretension upon this bar-barism. "No new slave State" is a watchword with which we are already familiar; but even this cry does not reveal the full opposition to this new revolt against civilization; for, even if disposed to admit a new slave State, there must be, among men who have not yet lost all souse of decency, an undying resistance to the admission of a Power having such an unquestioned origin and such an unquestioned purpose as that which now flaunts in piracy and blood before the civilized world, seeking recognition for its criminal chimera. Here is nothing for Duty is as plain as the moral law or the nice casuistry. multiplication table.

Look for a moment at the unprecedented character of this pretension. A President had been elected by the people, in the autumn of 1860, who was known to be against the extension of slavery. This was all. He had not yet entered upon the performance of his duties. But the slave morgers saw that slavery at home must suffer under this popular judgment against its extension, and they re-Under this inspiration State after State pretended to wi hdraw from the Union and to construct a new Confederacy, whose "corner-stone" was slavery. A Consti-tution was adopted, which declared, in these words, "No law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed;" and "in all territory, actual or acquired, the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognised and protected by Congress and the Territorial government." not start. These are the authentic words of the text. You will find them in the Constitution. Such was the unalterable fabric of the new Government.

Nor was there any doubt or besitation in proclaiming its distinctive character. Its Vice President, Mr. Stephens, who thus far had been remarked for his moderation on slavery, as if smitten with diabolic light, undertook to exp'ain and vindicate the Magna Charta just adopted. His words are already familiar, but they cannot be omitted in an accurate statement of the case. "The new Constitu tion," he said, " has put at rest forever all the sgitating questions relating to our peculiar institution. African slavery, as it exists among us," which he proceeds to dewas the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution." The Vice President then announced mequivocally the change that had taken place. Admit ting that " it was the prevailing idea of the leading states men at the foundation of the old Constitution that the enslavement of the African was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and positically, and that it was a violation of the laws of nature," he denounces the idea as " fundamentally wrong," and proclaims the new Government as "founded up in exactly the opposite idea." There was no disguise.
"Its oundations," he avows, "are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition." Not content with exhibiting the untried foundation, he boastfully claims for the new Government the priority of invention. new Government," he vaunts, "is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This etone which was rejected by the come the chief stone of the corner And then, as if priority of invention were not enough, he proceeds to claim for the new Government future supremacy, saying that it is already "a growing Power, which, if true to itself, its destiny and its high mission, will be come the controlling Power upon this continent

Since Satan first declared the "corner stone" of his new government and openly denounced the Almighty throne. there has been no biaspheny of equal andacity. In human history nothing but itself can be its parallel. Here was the gauntlet thrown down to heaven and earth, while a disgusting barbarism was proclaimed as the new civiliza-Two years have already passed; but, as the rebellion began, so it is now. A Governor of Fouth Carolina in a message to the Legislature as late as 3d April, 1863, took up the boastful strain, and congratulated the reful slavemongers that they were "a refined, cultivated, and enlightened people," and that the new Government was "the finest type that the world ever beheld." God save And a leading journal, more than any other the organ of the slavemongers, has uttered the original vaunt with more than the original brutality. After dwelling on "the grand career and lofty destiny" before the w Government the Richmond Examiner of the 28th of May, 1863, proceeds as follows: "Would that all of us understood and laid to heart the true nature of that career and that destiny and the responsibility it imposes. The establishment of the Confederacy is, verily, a distinct reaction against the whole course of the mistaken civilization of the age. For liberty, equality, and fraternity we have deliberately substituted slavery, subordination, and government. Reverently we feel that our Confederacy is a God-sent miss onary to the nations with great truths to preach We must speak thus boldly; but whose hath cars hear let him hear." It is this God-sent missionary to the nations which it is now proposed to welcome at the household hearth of the civilized world.

Unhappily there are old nations, still tolerating slavery, in the family; but now, for the first time in his tory a new nation claims admission there, which not only tolerates slavery, but, exulting in its shame, strives to re verse the judgment of mankind against this outrage, and to make it a chief support and glory, so that all recogni-tion of the new Power will be the recognition of a sacri-With one vast blood stone for the mighty base

Elsewhere slavery has been an accident; here it is the principle. Elsewhere it has been an instrument only; here it is the inspiration. Elsewhere it has been kept back in a becoming modesty; here it is pushed for ward in all its brutish nakedness. Elsewhere it has claimed nothing but liberty to live; here it claims liberty to rule with unbounded empire at home and abroad. Look at this candidate Power as you will, in its whole continued existence, from its Alpha to its Omega, and it is nothing but slavery. Its origin is clavery; its main spring is slavery; its object is slavery. Wherever it appears, what ever it does, whatever form it takes, it is slavery alone and nothing else; so that, with the contrition of Satan, it

might cry out-Me miserable! which way shall I fly, Infinite wrath and infinite despair?

Which way I fly is heli- myself am hell."

The rebellion is slavery in arms: slavery on horseback stavery on foot; slavery raging on the battle-field; slavery raging on the quarter deck, robbing, destroying, burning, killing, in order to uphold this candidate Power. Its legislation is simply slavery in statutes; slavery in chapters; slavery in sections, with an enacting clause. Its diplo-macy is slavery in protended ambaseadors; slavery in cunslavery in eczening promises; slavery in persistent pegotiations-all to secure for the candidate Power its much desired welcome. Say what you will, try to avoid it if you can, you are compelled to admit that the wer is nothing else than organized slavery, which now in its madness—surrounded by its criminal clan, and led by its felon chieftains—braves the civil zation of the age. Therefore any recognition of this Power will be a recognition of slavery itself, with welcome and bene diction, imparting to it new consideration and respectability; and, worse still, occurring to it new opportunity and foothold for the supremacy which it epenly proclaims.

In ancient days the candidate was robed in white while at the Capitol and in the Forum he canvassed the prople for their votes. The candidate nation, which is ashamed of slavery, should be robed in black while it conducts its great canvass and asks the votes of the Christian Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night," as the outrage proceeds; for the candidate gravely asks the international recognition of the claim to hold property in man; to sell the wife away from the busband; to sell the child away from the parent; to shut the gat; s of knowledge; to appropriate all the fruits of another's labor And yet the candidate proceeds with the canvass, although declares that slavery is essentially barbar, in and that whatever it touches it changes to itself; that it

l arbarizes laws ; barbarizes business ; barbarizes manners ; f arbarizes social life, and makes the people who cherish it arbarians. And still the candidate proceeds, although it known to the Christian Powers that the partizans of lavery are naturally "fillibusters," always apt for lawless acursions and for robbery; that, during latter years, under their instigation and to advance their pretensions, expeditions, identical in motive with the present rebellion, were let loose in the Gulf of Mexico, twice against Cuba nd twice also against Nicsragua, breaking the peace of the United States and threatening the repose of the world, so that Lopez and Walker were worthy predecessors of Beau regard and Jefferson Davis. And yet the candidate proeeds, although it is obvious that the recognition which i rged will be nothing less than a solemn sanction by the hristian Powers of slavery every where throughout the ew jurisdiction, whether on land or sea, so that every ship, which is a part of the floating territory, will be slave erritory. And yet, with the phantasy that man can hold roperty in man shooting from his lips, with the shackle d lash in his hands, with barbarism on his forehead, with thousterism in his recorded life, and with slavery flying his flag wherever it floats on land or sea, the can amors for Christian recognition. It is sad to think that here has been delay in repelling the insufferable canvass. Is thy servant a cog that he should do this thing?" It is not necessary to be a Christian, it is sufficient to be a an, in order to detest and combat such an accursed pre-

If the recognition of a de facto, Power was a duty im osed upon other nations by international law, there e so opportunity for objections founded on princi-But there is no such duty. International aw leaves to each nation, precisely as the municipal law caves to each citizen, what company to keep or what coartnership to form. No company and no copartnership on be forced upon a nation. It is all a question of free choice and acceptance. International law on this head is like the Constitution of the United States, which declares new States may be admitted by the Congress into this Not must, but may, it being in the discretion of ongress to determine whether the S ate shall be admit-Accordingly, in the exercise of this discretion, Congress for a long time refused to admit Missouri as a slave State And now the old Missouri question, in a more outrageons form, on a grander theatre, "with monarchs to behold the swelling scene," is presented to the Christian Powers of the world. If it were right to exclude Mis souri, having a few slaves only and regarding slavery merely as a temporary condition, it must be right to ex-clude a pretended nation, which not only boasts its millions of slaves, but passionately proclaims the perpetuity and propagation of slavery as the cause and object of its sepa-

Practical statesmen have always treated the question of recognition as one of policy-to be determined on the acts of the case-even where the Power was de facto established; as appears amply in the debates of the British Parliament on the recognition of Spanish America. If we go behind the practical statesmen and consult the earliest oracles of international law, we shall find that, according to their most approved words, not only may recognition be refused, but there are considerations of duty this which cannot be evaded. It is not enough that a pretender has the form of a Commonwealth. says Cicero, in a definition copied by most jurists, every body of men howsoever congregated, but a gathered multitude, associated under the sanction of justice and for the common good."-Juris concessu et utilitatis comnunione sociatus." And again be goes so far as to say, in the republic, "when the king is unjust, or the aristocracy, or the people itself, the Commonwealth is not vicious, but Of course a commonwealth that was null would not be recognised. But Grotius, who speaks always with the magistral voice of learning and genius, has given the just conclusion, when he presents the distinction between body of men, who being already a recognised Common wealth, are guilty of systematic crime, as, for instance, of piracy, and another body of men, who, not yet recognised as a Commonwealth, are banded together for the sake of systematic crime—sceleris causa cocunt. The latter, by a happy discrimination, he places beyond the pale of honor or fellowsh p-nam hi criminis causa sociantur. † But when before in all history have creatures wearing the human form proclaimed the criminal principle of their asociation with the audacity of our slavemongers?

It might be argued, on the grounds of reason and rity even, that the declared principle of the pretended Power was a violation of international law. Emicent magistrates have solemnly ruled that, in the development o ivilization, the slave trade has become illegal by a law higher than any statute. Sir William Grant, one rnaments of the British bench, whose elegant mind was overned always by practical sense, adjudged that " this rade cannot, abstractedly speaking, have any legitimate existence," ; and our own great authority, Mr. Justice Story, in a remarkable judgment, declared himself con-strained "to consider the trade against the universal law of society." | But the arguments which are strong against any recognition of the slave trade are strong also against any recognition of slavery itself.

It is not, however, necessary, in the determination present duty, to assume that slavery, or the slave trade, i ositively forbidden by existing internstional law. It is enough to show that, according to the spirit of that sover ign law which "sits empress, crowning good, repressing and according also to those commanding principles of justice and humanity, which cannot be set at naught without a shock to buman nature itself, so foul a wrong as slav ery can receive no voluntary support from the wealth of nations. It is not a question of law, but a ques tion of morality. The rule of law is sometimes less comprehensive than the rule of morality, so that the latter fillds instead of Siberia; while abroad it must be aggressive. may positively condemn what the former silently tolerates. sive, dangerous, and revolting; in itself a Magnum Latro But within its own domain the rule of morality cannot cinium, whose fellowship can have nothing but "the fitth-be less authoritative than the rule of law itself. It is, indeed, nothing less than the law of nature and also the law of God. If we listen to a heathen teacher we shall contess its binding power. "Law," says Cicero, "is the highest reason impinited in nature, which prescribes those things which ought to be done, and lorbids the contrary." delfor the first time to license. Such must be the chathings which ought to be done, and torbids the contrary." of ed for the first time to license. Such must be the cha-This law is an essential part of international law, as is also racter of the new Power. But though only a recent Christianity itself, and, where treaties fail and usage is wrong, and pleading no prescription, the illimitable suda-silent, it is the only law between nations. Jurists of all city of its nature will hesitate at nothing; nor is there any silent, it is the only law between nations. Jurists of all ages and countries have delighted to acknowledge its au thing offensive or detestable which it will not absorb into thority, if it spoke only in the small still voice of consci-ence. A celebrated professor of Germany in our own day— Savigny-whose name is tonored by the students of jurisprudence every where, touches upon this monitor of unns when he declares that " there may exist between different nations a common consciousness of right similar to that which engenders the positive law of particular na tions." But this common consciousness of right is iden-tical with that law which, according to Cicero, is "the nighest reason implanted in nature. "Such is the rule of

morality. The rule of morality differs from the rule of law in this respect, that the former finds its support in the human cience; the latter in the sanctions of public force. But moral power prevails with a good man as much as if I know no different rule for a good nacon than for a good man. I am sure that a good nation ill not do what a good man would scorn to do.

But there is a rule of prud nee supersided to the rule morality. Grotius, in discussing treaties, does not forwarns against fellowship with the wicked, although he adds that these were maxims of prudence and not of law." And he reminds us of the saying of Alexander, "that those evously offend who enter the service of barbarians." But better still are the words of the wise historian of classcal antiquity, who enjoins upon a commonwealth the duty of considering carefully, when sucd for assistance, whether what is sought is sufficiently pious, safe, glorous; or, on the other hand, unbecoming;"t and also those words of Scripture which, after rebuking an alliance with Ahab, ask with scorn, "Shouldst thou help the ungodly?"

If the claim for recognition be brought to the touchone of these principles it will be easy to decide it. Vain it is to urge the practice of nations in its behalf. Nover before in history has such a candidacy been put forard in the name of slavery; and the terrible outrage is ggravated by the Christian light which surrounds it. This when the slavemongers of Algiers "had reduced them selves to a government of State;" the renowned Louis IX. eputation of a Government;" but at last, weary of their assadors without holding any intercourse with them. This is a valuable precedent, for the parricide usurper of England had never murdered so many infants or usurped so much as the pretended slave Power, which is strangely tolerated by the sagacious sovereign who sits on the throne of Louis XI. But it is not necessary to go far in histo-

Burke, with his customary power: " In the case of a divided kingdom, by the law of natio Great Britain, like every other Power, is free to take any part she pleases. She may decline, with more or less for-mality, according to her discretion, to acknowledge this new or she may recognise it as a Government de facto, aside all discussion of its original legality, and conthe ancient monarchy as at an end. The law of nations eaves our court open to its choice. The declaration of a new pecies of government on new principles is a real crisis

De Repub lib 1 25 De Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. iii , cap 3, sec. 2. Amedic, 2 Actou, K. 210. La Jeune Eugenie, 2 Mason R 451. Do Legibus, ib. i., cap 5.

System des heutigen Romischen Rechts, Lvii., cap 11

1 Patlimore: p. 80 Thoughte on French Affairs, 1791.

Lib. ii., cap 15, sec. 9. Saliust, Fragm, iv., 2.

while arging on Parliament the recognition of Spanish America, says. The reception of a new State into the society of civilized nations by those acts which amount to recognition, is a preceeding which, as it has no legal character, is purely of a moral nature;" and he proceeds to argue that since England is "the only anciently free State in the world, for her to refuse her moral aid to communities struggling for liberty, is an act of unnatural harsh ness." Thus does he vindicate recognition for the sake of freedom. How truly be would have repelled any recogni-tion for the sake of slavery, but his life testify. But, perhaps, no better testimony to the practice of nations can be found than in the words of Vattel, whose

and the arriver rolls by an apply and the second

work, presenting the subject in a familiar form, has one more, during the last century, to lashion opini the law of nations than any other authority. Here it is

"If there be any nation that makes an open profes io "If there be any nation that makes an open profes ion of trampling justice under foot, of despising and violating the right of others, whenever it finds an opportunit, the interest of human society will authorize all objects to humble and chastise it." To form and support an unjust pretension is to do an injury not only to him who is interested in this pretension, but to mock at justice in general and to injure all nations. He who assess an odious tyrant—he who occlares for an unjust and rebellions people—violates his duty. As to hose in insters who, under the title of sovereigns, render themselves the scourges and horror of the human lace, they are savage beasts, whom every brave man may justly exterminate from the face of the earth. But if the maxims of a religion tend to extellish it by vi lence and to oppress all those who will not embrace it, the law of nature forbids us to favor that religiou or to contract any unnecessary alliance with its inhuman f llowers, and the common safety of man kind invites them rather to enter into an alliance against such a people; to repress such outrageous fanatics, disturb the public repose and threaten all nations." #

Vainly do you urge this recognition on any principle of the comity of nations. This is an expansive term into which enters much of the refinements, amenities, and hospitalities of civilization, and also something of the obligations of moral duty. But where an act is prejudicial to national interest or contrary to national policy or questionable in morals, it cannot be commended by any con siderations of courtesy. There is a paramount duty which must not be betrayed by a ki-s. For the sake of comity, sets of good will and triendship not required by law are performed between pations; but an English court has performed between nations; but an engigen earth mas authoritatively declared that this principle cannot prevail "where it violates the laws of our own country, or the law of pature, and the law of God:" and on this adamentine ground it was decided that an American slave, who had found shelter on board of a British man-of-war, could not be recognised as a slave. !! But the same principle would

prevail against the recognition of a new slave nation.

Vainly do you urge this recognition on any reason of peace. There can be no peace founded on injustice; and any recognition is an injustice which will cry aloud resounding through the universe You may seem to have peace; but it will be only a smothered war, destined to break forth in war more direful than before.

Thus is every argument for recognition repelled, whether it be under the sounding words, practice of nations, semity of nations, or peace. There is nothing in practice, nothing in comity, nothing in peace, which is not againt any such shameful surrender

But applying the principles which have been a ready set orth, assuming what cannot be denied, that every Power is free to refuse recognition; assuming that it is not every body of men that can be considered a commonwealth, but only "tho e associated under the sanction of justice and for the common good;" that men banded together for the sake of systematic crime" cannot be considered a commonwealth; assuming that every member of the family of nations will surely obey the rule of morality; that it will "shun fellowship with the wicked;" that it will not "enter, into the service of barbarians;" that it will avoid what is "unbecoming" and do that only which is "pious, safe, and glorious;" and that above all things it will not enter into an alliance "to help the ungodly;" assuming these things, every such member must reject with indenstion a new pretension whose declared principle of association is so essentially wicked. Here there can be no question. The case is plain; nor is any language of contumely or scorn too strong to express the irrepressible repugnance to such a pretension, which, like vice, "to be hated needs only to be seen." Surely there can be no Christian Power which will not leap to expose it, saying with irresistible voice: No new sanction of slavery. No new quickening of slavery in its active and aggressive barbarism. No new acouragement to the "filibusters" engendered by slavery. No new creation of slave territory. No new creation of a slave navy. No new slave nation. No installation of slavery as a new civilization. But all this Litany will fail if recognition prevails—from which good Lord deliver us! Nor will this be the end of the evi!.

Slavery, through the new Power, will take its place in the Parliament of mankind with all the immunities of an ndependent nation, ready always to uph 14 and advance itself, and organized as an unrelenting propaganda of the new faith. A Power having its inspiration in such a barbarism must be essentially barbarous; founded on the asserted right to whip women and to sell children, it must assume a character of disgusting hardihood; and, openly professing a determination to revolutionize the public opon of the world, it must be in open schism with civilization itself; so that all its influences will be wild, savage, brutal, and all its offspring kindred in character.

# Pard senders pard; 'rom tigers tigers spring; No dove is hatched beneath the vulture's wing.

Such a Power, from its very nature, must be despotism a itself. It will be an Ishmael, with its hand against every It will be a brood of trarpies defiling all which cannot steal. It will be the one-eyed Cyclop of nations seeing only through slavery, spurning all as fools who do not see likewise, and bellowing forth in savage egotism:

Know, then, we Cyclops are a race above These air bred people and their goat nursed Jove; And learn our power proceeds with thee and thine, Not as Jove wills, but as ourselves incline.

Or worse still, it will be the soulless monster of Franken stein—the wretched creation of moral science without God—endowed with life and nothing else—forever raving madly, the scandal to humanity—powerful only for evil— wheat destruction will be essential to the peace of the

Who can welcome such a greation? Who can consort with it? There is something leathsome in the idea. There s contamination even in the thought. If you live with the lame, says the ancient proverb, you will learn to limp; if you keep in the kitchen you will smell of smoke; if you touch pitch you will be defiled. But what lameness so pitiful as that of this pretended Power; what smoke so foul as it breath; what pitch so defiling as is touch? (It is an Oriental saying that a cisteen of rose water will be come impure if a dog be dropt into it; but a continent of rose water with rebel slavemong-rs would be changed into a vulgar puddle. Imagine, if you please, whatever is most disgusting, and this pretended Power is more disgusting still. Netwalists report that the pike will swallow any thing except the toad; but this it cannot do. The experiment has been tried, and, though this fish, in its voracity, always gulps whatever is thrown to it, yet invaria-bly it spews this nuisance from its throat. But our slavemonger pretension is worse than the toad; and yet there are foreign nations which, instead of spewing it forth, are already turning it like a precious morsel on the tongue.

But there is yet another ground on which I make this

appeal. It is a part of the triumphs of civilization that no not the age of darkness. But even in the Dark Ages, nation can act for itself alone. Whatever it does for good or for evil, affects all the rest. Therefore a nation cannot torget its obligations to others. Especially does internatreated them as a nest of wasps. | Afterward, but tional law, when it declares the besolute equality of inde-dowly, they obtained "the rights of legation," and "the pendent nations, east upon all nations the duty of considering well how the privilege shall be bestowed, so that the criminal pretensions, the aroused vengeance of Great Britain and France blotted out this Power from the list of nations. Louis XI, who has been described as 'the sove-reign who best understood his interest," indignant at can be no reason for such admission; for it can bring Richard III. of England, who had murdered two infants nothing to the general weal. Civil society is created for the Tower and usurped the Crown, sent back his amissadors without holding any intercourse with them.

his is a valuable precedent, for the parricide usurper of can do nothing but evil for civil society at home or for nations in their relations with each other. It can show no title to recognition; no passport for its travels; no old erey, nor to dwell on the practice of nations in withholding a nold kind. It is new Power of a new Power of an old kind. It is a new Power of a new species. When tarke, with his costomary newer. It is all new; and here let me borrow the language such a questionable shape is to be admitted for the first time into the brotherhood of Christendom, it is not a mere matter of idle curiosity to consider how far it is in its nature alliable with the rest "6 The greatest of corporations is a nation; the subliment or all associations is that which is composed of nations, independent and equal, knit together in the bonds of peaceful fraternity as a great Christian Commonwealth. The slavemongers may be a orporation in fact; but no such corporation can find a place in that sublime Commonwealth. As well admit the Phugs, whose first article of faith is to kill a stranger—or plundered on the sea-or, better still, revive the old King dom of the Assassios, where the king was an assassin sucrounded by counsellors and generals who were assassins and all his surjects were assessins. Or, yet again better at once and openly recognise Anti-Christ, who is the su prea e and highest impersonation of the slave power. Amidst the general degradation that would follow suc

\* Mackintosh's Works, vot. 3, p. 438. In lidger & Sa ! Book it., cap. 4, sec. 70. ! Itid. Book it., cap. 12, sec. 162. ! Forbes vs. Cochrane, 2 Barn., and Gres. R. 448. | Regionde Peace, 2d Letter.

Another elequent publicist, Sir James Mackintosh, an obeisance to slavery, there are two Christian Powers that would appear in sed and shameful curinence. I refer to Great Britain, the declared "protectress of the African rice," and to France, the declared chempion of "ideas," who, from the very largess of their pledges, are so situated that they cannot descri the good old cause and turn their backs upon civilization without a criminal self-sta tion, which no amount of apologies can conceal. When then would be British devotion to the African race? When then would be French devotion to ideas? Remembers only to point a tale and show how nations had faller Great Britain knows less than France of national v ciss tudes; but such an act of wrong would do something i its influence to equalize the conditions of these two nations Better for the fast-anchored isle that it should be sunk be n-ath the sea, with its cathedrals, its castles, its fields of glory, Runnymede, Westminster Hell, and the home of Shakespeare, than that it should do this thing. In other days England has valiantly striven against slavery, and nov she proposes to surrender at a moment when more can be done than ever before against the monster wherever it done than ever before egainst the monster wherever it shows its head, for slavery every where has its neck in this ideas; and now she too proposes to surrender, although all that she has professed to have at heart is involved in the doom of slavery, which a word from her might hasten be-yond recedl. But it is in England, more even than in France, that the strongest sentiment for rebel slavemon gers has been manifest, constituting a moral mania, which menaces a pact and concordat with the rebellion it-elf-a when an early Pope, the head of the Christian Church, did not hesitate to execute a piratical convention with a pagan enemy of the Christian name. It only remains that the new coalition should be signed, in order to consum the unutterable degradation. It was the fate of Ædipus in the saddest story of antiquity, to wed his own mother without knowing it; but England will wed the clave Powe with full knowledge that the relation, if not incestuous, The contracting parties will be the Queen of England and Jeff-reon Davis, the robel slavemonger patron of "repudiation". It will only remain for this virtuous lady, e pride it is to seek justice always, to bend in pititu abj-ctness to receive as a plenipotent ary at her court the uthor of the fugitive slave bill

A s'avemonger Power will take its seat at the great council board to jostle thrones and benches, while it overshadows humanity. Its foul attorneys, recking with slav-ery, will have their letter of license as the ambassadors f slavery, to rove from court to court, over foreign car pets, talking, drinking, spitting slavery and poisoning that air which has been nobly pronounced too pure for a slave to breathe. Alas! for England's Queen, seduced, led. and drawn away from the cause of Wilberforce and Clarkson to sink into unseemly deliance with the scourgers of wo men and the auctioneers of children. Alas! for that royal consort, humane and great, whose dving voice was given to assuage the temper of that ministerial despatch by which in an evil hour. England was made to strike bands with rebel slavemongers; for the councillor is needed now t save the land which he adorned from an act of inexpiable shame. Alas! for England, vowed a thousand tim the cause of the African race and knit perpetually by her best renown to this sacred loyalty, now plunging into adult-rous hon-ymoon with slavery—recognising the new and impious Protestantism against liberty itself—and wickedly ecoming the defender of the faith, even as professed b

rebel slave mongers And for all this rickening immorality I hear but on declared apology. It is said that the Union permitted and still permits slavery: therefore foreign nations may recognise rebel slavemongers as a new Power. But here precise question. England is still in diplomatic relations with Spain, and was only a short time ago in diplomatic relations with Brazil, both permiting slavery; but these two Powers are not new; they are already stablished; there is no question of their recognition; nor do they pretend to found empire on slavery. There is no teason i as its declared "corner stone," whose gospel is slavery, and whose evangelists are slavemengers, should be recognised in the family of nations. If Ireland were in trium-phant rebellion against the British Queen, complaining of ights denied, it would be our duty to recognise her as an independent Power; but if Ireland rebelled, with the de clared object of establishing a new Power, which should be nothing less than a giant f-lony and a nuisance to the world, then it would be our duty to spurn the infamous pretension, and no triumph of the rebeilion could change this plain and irresistible necessity. And yet, in the face of this commanding ru'e, we are told to expect the recog-

nition of rebel slavemongers. But an aroused public opinion, "the world's collected will" and returning reason in England and France will see to it that civil zation is saved from this shock and the na tions themselves from the terrible retribution which soone or later must surely attend it. No Power can affe hit itself before mankind and openly vote a new and un-transmelled charter to injustice and cruelty. God is an unsleeping avenger; nor can armies, fleets, bulwarks, or along the steep" prevail against His mighty anger. There is but one word which the Christian Powers can ulter to any application for this unholy recognition. It is simply an ansterely "No," with an emphasis that shall si eace argument and extinguish hope itself. And this proclamation should go for h swiftly. Every momen of hes:tation is a moment of apostacy, casting its lengthening shade w of dishonor. Not to discourage is to encour age; not to blast is to bless. Let this simple word be ut-tered and slavery will shrink aw y with a mark on its ple word be uttered and the audacious slave power will be better than the Flying Dutchman, that famous craft, which, darkened by piracy and murder, was doomed to erpetual cruise, unable to enter a port-

Faint and despairing in their watery bier To every friendly shore the sailors steer; Repelled from port to post they sue in vain.

And track with slow, unsteady sail the main,

Unblest of God and man! Till time shall end its view strange horror to the storm shall lend

[TO BE CONTINUED ]

# THE REBEL TROUBLES IN NORTH CAROLINA

The Charlotte (N. C.) Bulletin of the 11th instant says "Crimination and recrumination have been the order of the day for months past in the capital of the State, an none but a tool could have failed to forceee the couse quences. Gov. Vance has given to Holden, by not con tradicting his statements, his aid and countenance, and he is thereby responsible for what has transpired as particeps criminis. As one of the independent journalists of North Carolina we declare that Gov. Vance, by his vascillation and truculency to Wm. W. Holden, has brought upon the people this trouble, and his appeal to the President is pue ile, yet inflammable. We have long since procisimed favor of military rule in the South during the existence of the war, and recent developments have proven the correct ness of our position.

The Raleigh Register of the 10th says:

"The 21st regiment North Carolina troops left this city on Monday for some point west of here. Their massor we pre-ume, is to arrest deserters, who, in organized bandare in some counties bidding defiance to the law. Another regiment, we hear, is soon to be brought to this State or the same errand. These men, who ought to be in place with either Bragg or Lee to help them to secure a victory over the accurred Yankee foe, (one real victory on either line would, we believe, secure us peace on the basis of in dependence,) are sent away from the army to hunt and catch men who have been encouraged to desert. Such is the fruit of the lessons of bad men and tories, of peace-onany-terms men, and reconstructionists.

In an article denouncing the "Tories" the Charlotte Bulletin of the 10th instant savs :

"We trust that the troops now entering North Carolic to enforce law and arrest deserters, sustained as they will be by Gov. Vages, will soon silence for ver the murmur of those bad men who have brought about the present de

plorable state of affairs "We most sincerely regret to learn that there are large number of conservative submissionists to Lincoln rule, who prefer fighting their friends and brothers, and even their fathers, with the deserters from the army, than meeting Yankees on the battle-field, now banded together, to the number of about two hundred, at 'Frailey's,' twen ty miles above Statesville, resisting the constituted author

"Yesterday, as we have been informed, a severe battle was fought by Lieut. Roberts, with forty Confederate sol diers, at that point, resulting in the capture of four and the killing of two or three of the traitors, who have sent to Trap Hill for reinforcements. Col. Sharp, of the 71st North Carolina militia, having been called on to sustai the Confederate authorities, is sending forward the militie to the support of Lieut. Roberts, who expected a pitched

The Bulletin of the 11th instant has the following r marks in denunciation of a public meeting which recently rebuked a subservient meeting of soldiers in Virginia:

The author, endorsers, and publishers of the annexes resolution, approving of its semiments, ought to be and every vestige of their property totally destroyed. copy the resolution from the proceedings of a meeting helin Granville county, North Carolina, as reported in the Raleigh Standard of the 5th instant. We sincerely hope the 8th instant. Thugs, whose first article of faith is to kill a stranger—or the Buccaneers, those old "brothers of the coast," who freedom of speech and the liberty of the press has degen rated (in two or three cases only be it known) in this State into licentiousness and rank treason. Here is the resolution:

" Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, those off cars in Convention at Orange Court-house (Va ) went in war to fight for lib ity and the freedom of t e press and free speech; but their conduct plainly shows that they are the hireling tools of the minions of power, wto would wrest the people of North Carolina the last vestige of human ty to carry out t e baseness of party malignity, and that they are opposed to free speech and freedom of the press in North Marie and Carried State ....

THE REPUBLICANS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

### THEIR NEW PLATFORM

A telegraphic despatch has already informed our readers that the State Convention of the Republicans of Massachusetts was held at Worcester, in that State, on Thursday last, and nominated Governor Andrew and all the other State officers of Massachusetts for re-election.

It appears by the reports of the proceedings of this Convention that it was unusually large in numbers, and in spirit and unanimity has never been surpassed in that Commonwealth.

The Hon. THOMAS D. ELIOT, of New Bedford, was called to preside. In his address he spoke principally of the victories of the past year, which he believed had destroyed all hope of a foreign recognition of the Southern Confederacy. He then proceeded and concluded as fol-

"By our recent successes the traitor Confederacy has been deprived of more than half its territorial strength and more than half its population. If foreign Powers do not intervene for slavery there is no fair room for doubt that in a few more months the Federal Government will have overcome the organized rebellion. Predatory and guerrilla war may be for awhile continued. But when the great semies now in the fi-ld are destroyed the power of the Government will be confessed and the body of this great treason will be controlled.

What shall be done then, and how shall it bedone Our Uping must be restored, and so restored that in po children must not have to fight over again the battles fo freedom in which our brothers and our sons have fallen. One generation of young men is enough to ransom a nation from slavery. We have sinned, and in these years have expiated our offence by the best blood of our most be-

"And now, speaking for myself, having no authority to commit friends or party, but declaring my own deepest convictions, I say that, to assure to this land permanent peace, it must be ordained that no slave can stand upon our soil or breathe the air that lifts upward our Stars and Stripes. Then true rest will be found and brotherly love, and we shall have vindicated the promises and the faith of the fathers.

"By what process, immediate or gradual, ordered by the State, by President or Congress, this crowning work is to be done, must before long be determined. If military necessity requires it, it may be done by one great act of emancipation, providing compensation to loyal owners and securing freedom to all It may be by a second completed proclamation by the President, which God grant he may have faith to make. It may be made, as to Second States, the condition precedent to a restoration of forfeited rights. These are rebel States, and have life ed up their defiant hand against the life of the nation. They are traitor States, for they have 'levied war' against the Union. They are belligerent States, and have carried on that war by confederate armies, organized and paid from their common treasury. They may be declared forfeit of their rights, or as conquered enemies compelled to submit to terms. I know not how it will be done; but I pray that when the time for decision comes the voice of Massa-chusetts may give no uncertain sound, but may speak for that neace which shall endure. . We have been to 'take the sword.' Let us 'seek with it peace in free

#### Mr. Senator Wilson also addressed the Convention His remarks were devoted mainly to justifying the course of the Administration. We extract several passages:

"Gentlemen, you are here to support Abraham Lincoln' administration without qualification or reservation. [Applause.] You are here to stand by it, to let him feel that he can lean upon old Massachusetts and find that every throb of her heart is true to the Constitution and the Union. [Applause.] And, gentlemen, let me say here to you now what the observation of more than two years has taught me-that we have in the President s chair as ardent a love of buman liberty as treads the soil of North America. [Applause ] We have in that chair a true and honest ma a statesman that takes no backward steps. He has promised the negroes who will rally around the old flag of the Republic liberty and protection, and he tells the world we must keep that pledge. [Applause ] He has issued a proclamation making free more than three millions of the slaves of rebels, and he tells the world that this proclamation cannot be withdrawn any more than the dead can be brought to life. [Applause] That is the position of the President of the United States—grand and glorious—and it is the duty of the Christian patriots of America to stand by him, and gather around him and bear the cause of the country on to a sure and final triumph. [Applause ]"

"We shall triumph—we shall save the country—we shall overthrow human slavery that has brought all this suffering overthrow human stavery that has brought all this suffering and dishonor upon the na ien. We shall sustain the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln [Applause.] We shall make that proclamation a living faith on every foot of the rebel States. [Renewed applause.] We shall give our voice, our sympathy, our God's blessing to the men who are struggli g to make Delaware and Maryland and Kentucky and Tennessee and Missouri free commonwealths. tered and slavery will shrink aw y with a mark on its The cause of emancipation is progressing in the border forchead, like Cain—a perpetual vagabond—without wel- States with wonderful rapidity. Every where the sentiamong the people. All we have to do is to be true and firm, inflexible, prudent, careful of word and speech, but as inflexible as destiny itself. [Applause] We owe it to the country to carry this mation triumphantly out of this revolution, inaugurated by slavery, and to bring it out a united and free country—and by God's blessing we will do it. [Applause] "It is an instructive fact that the rebellion has received its most potent blows under the constitutional power of the Government and it almost makes my blood boil with indignation when I hear the flippant or designing remarks of men in power, "It is an instructive fact that the rebellion has received its most potent blows under the constitutional power of do it. [Applause.]"

Ex-Governor BOUTWELL, having been called upon for a speech, spoke briefly in support of one of the resolu tions-that one which declares that slavery shall not exist in the States and Territories covered by the President's

proclamation. "He said that a State could only exist by the will of he people within its limits, and that by adopting ordinances of secession the rebellious States have given us their organization under the Union. But the Federal Go vernment has a prior authority over the people and the territory of each State, which can only be restrained by Wherever our armies penetrate that power is asserted, and the people must remain under the guardian ship of the Federal autho ities until unconditional Unio men shall form a new State government and ask for re admission to the Union. When that time should come be would make it a condition precedent upon their re-admission that they should come in as Free States."

We subjoin the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. They were reported from a committee by Mr. BOUTWELL, who, in moving for the committee, remarked that such a course was hardly necessary where there was so great unanimity, but that he only asked for the committee in accordance with established usage, in order that there might be a distinctive declaration of principles on the part of the assembly. This declaration of principles is in the following words:

Residued, That we pleage ourselves anew to an unwa-vering and unconditional support of the National Govern-ment in its efforts to suppress the wicked rebellion against its authority.

Resolved. That this ancient Commonwealth, ever lealou

for the rights and liberties guarantied to her citizens by her own Constitution and that of the United States, has no apprehension whatever that in a contest like this, be tween slavery and liberty, any of the rights of the citizen will be lost or any of the landmarks of personal freedom

destroyed.

Resolved, That the proclamation of January 1, 1863, by which the President of the United States decreed the ab-solute and perpetual freedom of all slaves within the States and parts of States then in revolt, and pledged the whole power of the General Government to maintain their rights, has the approbation of the people of this Commonwealth. As a measure of military necessity it has been justified by its fruits, which are an almost uninterrupted series of vic tories, after long periods of disaster; as a measure of se-curity for the future peace and tranquillity of the reunited nation, it was indispensable and must be maintained invio-late; and as a guarantee to the world that our contest is for civilization and christianity it removes from us a re proach under which we labored, and, as we reverently be lieve, it assures us of the favor of Almighty God.

Resolved, That we join issue with those who believe that permanent peace and beneficent estilement of our na-ional difficulties can be obtained by negotiating with the conspirators who have subverted State organizations to their ambitious purposes, and attempted to build up a na tion on a despotic basis, with slavery for its corner-stone tion on a despotic basis, with slavery for its corner-stone. When the time arrives for settlement, let it be made with the unconditional Union men of the South, who alone have any right to voice or vote upon the conditions of reunion, and not with the rebess, who have no rights but the right to submit. And to this end we extend our cordial sympathy and support to all the men of the South who desire to reconstruct their political and social fabric upon a free asis, compatible with the new order of things established

the decree of emancipation.

Resolved. That the accession of a State under our politic cal system has no legality and no legal meaning whatever it is but another name for rebellion; and rebels are not ntitled to the privileges of the Union, while they are still inble to all its obligations and duties. And inasmuch as lavery was the sole cause of the revolt, and as while slavery exists there can be no permanent peace in the Union, it is the duty of Congress and the Executive to in-sist that the practical extinguishment of slavery through-out the rebel Confederacy shall follow as fast as possible upon its legal and official death. Let the restored nation be made prosperous and glorious by a Union of free States under a republican form of government, which is guaran tied to them by the Constitution, and with which experence has proved the existence of slavery is wholly incom

Resolved, That Massachusetts is for the prosecution of the war to the entire suppression of the revolt. In this cause we extend the hand of fellowship to loyal men of all political parties, and we recognise as political enemies all men who-make this issue subordinate to their own parti-zan dogmas, or who seek to make peace with the rebels on any terms short of their submission to the national authority and the suppression of their pretended Confederacy.

Resolved, That the policy of employing colored soldiers is wise and just, and should be enlarged and liberalized by

ARTHOUGH SATISFIES THE TARREST HAS THE

putting such soldiers on a perfect equality with whites as to rights and compensation while in the service. The na-tion has a right to the services of all its subjects in every part of its domain, and no pretended or real claim to service, on the part of master or employer, in the South or the North, should be allowed to interfere with that primary allegiance which is due to the country itself.

In this Convention there werethree hundred and twenty towns and cities represented by about seventeen hundred delegates. In commenting upon their proceedings the Boston Courier remarks: "They have drawn the line squarely between themselves and the constitutional friends of the Union; and those who act with them bereafter must do so upon the undisguised abolition basis. We need not say that this means and can mean nothing else than the irdefinite continuance of the war; for no man outside of the abolition party can imagine that a war pursued for the objects declared in these resolutions would end for generations, or except by mutual exhaustion. They have pulled off the mask and stand avowedly the advocates of a war never to end until they have abolished slavery in the States. Will the people of Massachusetts follow the Convention in this career of madness and folly? It may be so; but they will be defeated in their objects by the good sense and reasonable, honest patriotism of their more sober fellow-citizens in other parts of the country."

### CANDID AND PATRIOFIC.

The following extract from a letter of a private gentleman of New York, of great intelligence and worth, but taking little share in party politics, was written in reply to a letter from an esteemed friend in Washington in relation to the political questions of the day. The patriotic spirit and enlightened views of the extract will commend it to all dispassionate readers :

"The rebellion must soon come to a close, but it will leave us with tremendous issues, and the wisdom, patriotism, and energy of all classes will be severely tried to maintain the status of the checks and balances of the Constitution, without which all will be lost which freemen regard worth preserving in a Republic.

"Your letter is worthy of the best days of our nation, and its conservative tone and practical suggestions cannot fail to find a reeponse every where. The sentiments you express are catholic and do not belong to any party. God knows (Democrat as I am of the most uncompromising cast) I should be glad if the Republican party would by adopting them ever perpetuate their power. But I fear that with the exception of Mr. - and a few more (very few) of that party they will not be able to withstand he terrible pressure of their radical element.

"I fear that we are entering into a contest with radicalism, and that the love of power will produce a dangerous element when added to the combustible material already neiting fanaticism The conservative element is always ess active than radicalism, and the wicked rebellion, for obvious reasons, produces greater disparity in their relative power with the masses. Good men, fearing to encourage any thing like an approach to sympathy with rebels, go to the opposite extreme for measures really tending to protract the power of the rebel leaders, and hence the loyal sentiment in the Border States has been greatly impaired; while the love of the Union is crushed out altogether in Secession States. The struggle will soon be, I fear, whether the South will be vermitted to return or not, and whether our Government shall be a centralized one like that of France, or whether we shall continue the glorious form initiated by Washington and illustrated by Webster, Clay, Wright, and hosts of worthies of both parties, whose patriotism and wisdom still illuminate the dark borizon of our country.

"No American can visit Europe, as a friend recently returned from abroad tells me, without coming home more impressed than ever with the value of our glorious heritage, and with horror in the contemplation of secession, abolition, and every other form of wicked heresy against that almost divine instrument, our Constitutio and it almost makes my blood boil with indignation when I

the Government, and in no case has a departure from the Constitution had any other effect than to divide the loyal sentiment at the North and to prevent an expression of loyal sentiment at the South. The rebellion I regard now as virtually put down, and I hope Mr. Seward's temperate and statesmanlike views will prevail with the Administration in the delicate questions arising out of the pecular relations which the rebel States will sustain to the Government . .

"I am very desirous that the utmost good feeling shall prevail towards Mr. Lincoln's administration as long as there is the least hope of its conservative action towards cementing our Union family."

We are exceedingly sorry, and as much surprised as orry, to find that our defence of the laws of Margland, as violated by the recent abduction of slaves, and the sympathy we manifested for those who, as Governor Bradford expressed it, were "plundered" by such violations of law. have sorely tried the "patience" of our friends of the Baltimore American, who say :

"We have no patience with this mawkish sympathy; that can only feel for the slaveholder, and not for the white man who cannot provide the funds necessary for his

We are the more surprised at this apparent want of patience" on the part of our contemporary, for if there se any journal which has all the passive virtues in full deent and vigorous exercisenwe had supposed it was the Baltimore American; and we humbly submit to our neighbor of the Monumental city that a paper which has shown itself equally prudent and meek to endure a secession mob in 1861 and the changeful caprice of military rule in 1863, ought to have some little "patience" for those who believe in law rather than lawlessness, even when it may not be "prudent" o say so. But now that it is entirely prudent and safe to say it, when the President has by his conduct justified our reclamations, it is to be boped that our bold and independent contemporary, to whom the loyal Governor and people of Maryland are so much indebted for the manly stand it has taken on this question, will be endowed with s'rength and firmness enough to endure with "patienes" the President's acts, is not our words, in support of law and right.

# NEGRO RECRUITING IN MARYLAND.

The Cambridge (Md.) Herald of Wednesday says: The steamer Cecil arrived at Cambridge wharf on Wedesday evening last with Major Myers on board and several colored soldiers, for the purpose of recruiting colored persons for this county. He recruited about eighty-five slaves, he informs us, and left for Baltimore with them on Friday morning last. The Major arrived here again in the Cecil yesterday morning for the same purpose. The boat will leave here this morning with a number of recruits. No negro women will be taken. We learn that one hundred and eighty slaves were taken from Queen Anne's county, mostly young men, a few women, children, and old men."

# THE REBEL TRADE WITH NASSAU.

By a late arrival from Nassau, New Providence, one of he Bahama Islands, we learn that the movements of the blockade runners to and from that port continue very active. From the 15th to the 26th of September ten vessels had arrived at Nassau alone, seven being from Wilmington and three from Charleston. It is a remark-able fact that those from Charleston has been able to elude all our fleet off and in that harbor, they having got out from there eleven days after the occupation of Forts Gregg and Wagner, which, it was supposed, had closed every outlet to the sea from Charleston. These vessels brought full files of Charleston papers, together with news of all that had occurred to the 21st instant, the time of their departure. Our advices state that many Anglo-rebel steamers are in the port of Wilmington (N. C.) awaiting an opportunity to run out. Although several bave lately been captured, still there is but little diminution in the contraband trade in that port.